

AARON HENRY UNITED STATES
POST OFFICE

Mr. KIM. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 892) to redesignate the Federal building located at 223 Sharkey Street in Clarksdale, Mississippi, as the "Aaron Henry United States Post Office," as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 892

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. DESIGNATION.

The Federal building located at 236 Sharkey Street in Clarksdale, Mississippi, shall be known and designated as the "Aaron Henry Federal Building and United States Courthouse".

SEC. 2. REFERENCES.

Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, paper, or other record of the United States to the Federal building referred to in section 1 shall be deemed to be a reference to the "Aaron Henry Federal Building and United States Courthouse".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from California (Mr. KIM) and the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. KIM).

Mr. KIM. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 892, as amended, designates the Federal building and the United States Courthouse located in Clarksdale, Mississippi, as the "Aaron Henry Federal Building and United States Courthouse."

Dr. Aaron Henry was a civil rights pioneer from the State of Mississippi. He was born in Clarksdale, Mississippi in 1921. He served in the United States Army, after which he returned to school and earned a degree in pharmacy from Xavier University in 1950.

In 1953, Dr. Henry organized the local branch of the NAACP and served as the State NAACP President from 1960 till 1993. He was instrumental in creating an integrated Democratic Party in Mississippi. He also participated in the Freedom Rider Movement which led to the passage of the Public Accommodations sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In 1979, Dr. Henry was elected to the Mississippi House of Representatives and held this office for two additional terms. On the national level, Dr. Henry assisted in securing Congressional support for the passage of the Office of Economic Opportunity, out of which came programs such as Head Start and Job Corps.

The naming of this Federal complex is a fitting tribute to a distinguished African American. I support the bill and urge my colleagues to support the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak in favor of the Aaron Henry Federal Building

and United States Courthouse. In doing so, I must say, Mr. Speaker, that I do so out of great and personal respect for a man with whom I worked with when I was a young woman in the civil rights movement.

When I went south in 1963 as a student in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Aaron Henry, in Mississippi, was a fearless freedom fighter who every day risked his life simply by living through each day as the President of the NAACP as a pharmacist at a time when the State of Mississippi was known throughout the world for racial terrorism. This is a man who did as much as any man alive to bring the black and white Mississippians together.

As a young lawyer, I represented the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party before the 1964 Democratic convention when the Freedom Democrats, blacks who were excluded from participation in the Democratic Party in the State, challenged the official Democratic Party and delegation. Aaron Henry was the cochair of that delegation. It says everything about our country and about Dr. Henry, that he lived to become the chair of the Mississippi Democratic Party itself.

H.R. 892 is a bill to designate the Federal building in Clarksdale, Mississippi, and the Aaron Henry Federal Building and United States Courthouse.

Dr. Aaron Henry was a civil rights pioneer, a thoughtful mentor, scholar and great humanitarian. He led an active, committed, exemplary life. After attending the local public schools in 1942, he joined the Army and was a veteran of World War II. After the war, he attended and graduated from Xavier University in New Orleans. In 1953, Dr. Henry organized the Coahoma County branch of the NAACP and served as the state NAACP president.

From 1960 to 1993, during the 1960s, he participated in the Freedom Rider movement and in the Mississippi Freedom Summer's nonviolent campaigns of public protest.

Dr. Henry served on numerous boards, such as the Executive Committee of the NAACP, the Federal Council on Aging and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Acknowledging his contributions as a civil rights leader in 1979, the citizens of Coahoma County elected him to the Mississippi House of Representatives, where he was reelected in 1983 and 1987.

Dr. Henry was instrumental in securing passage of legislation which created the Office of Economic Opportunity, and was a strong advocate and spokesman for the Job Corps and Head Start. Dr. Henry was an active member of the Haven United Methodist Church, serving as lay leader. He was committed to community, educational and civil issues throughout his rich life. It is most fitting and proper that we support the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. THOMPSON) and honor the great contributions of Dr. Henry.

It gives me personal pleasure to urge the passage of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. KIM. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. KIM) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 892, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof), the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The title of the bill was amended so as to read: "A bill to designate the Federal building located at 236 Sharkey Street in Clarksdale, Mississippi, as the 'Aaron Henry Federal Building and United States Courthouse'."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. KIM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on H.R. 892, the bill just passed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

SENSE OF THE CONGRESS
REGARDING SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 304) expressing the sense of the Congress regarding the culpability of Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in the former Yugoslavia, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 304

Whereas there is reason to mark the beginning of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia with Slobodan Milosevic's rise to power beginning in 1987, when he whipped up and exploited extreme nationalism among Serbs, and specifically in Kosovo, including support for violence against non-Serbs who were labeled as threats;

Whereas there is reason to believe that as President of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic was responsible for the conception and direction of a war of aggression, the deaths of hundreds of thousands, the torture and rape of tens of thousands and the forced displacement of nearly 3,000,000 people, and that mass rape and forced impregnation were among the tools used to wage this war;

Whereas "ethnic cleansing" has been carried out in the former Yugoslavia in such a consistent and systematic way that it had to be directed by the senior political leadership in Serbia, and Slobodan Milosevic has held such power within Serbia that he is responsible for the conception and direction of this policy;

Whereas, as President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), Slobodan Milosevic is responsible for the conception and direction of assaults by Yugoslavian and Serbian military, security, special police, and other forces on innocent

civilians in Kosovo which have so far resulted in an estimated 300 people dead or missing and the forced displacement of tens of thousands, and such assaults continue;

Whereas on May 25, 1993, United Nations Security Council Resolution 827 created the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia located in The Hague, the Netherlands (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the "Tribunal"), and gave it jurisdiction over all crimes arising out of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia;

Whereas this Tribunal has publicly indicted 60 people for war crimes or crimes against humanity arising out of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and has issued a number of secret indictments that have only been made public upon the apprehension of the indicted persons;

Whereas it is incumbent upon the United States and all other nations to support the Tribunal, and the United States has done so by providing, since 1992, funding in the amount of \$54,000,000 in assessed payments and more than \$11,000,000 in voluntary and in-kind contributions to the Tribunal and the War Crimes Commission which preceded it, and by supplying information collected by the United States that can aid the Tribunal's investigations, prosecutions, and adjudications;

Whereas any lasting, peaceful solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia must be based upon justice for all, including the most senior officials of the government or governments responsible for conceiving, organizing, initiating, directing, and sustaining the Yugoslav conflict and whose forces have committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide; and

Whereas Slobodan Milosevic has been the single person who has been in the highest government offices in an aggressor state since before the inception of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, who has had the power to decide for peace and instead decided for war, who has had the power to minimize illegal actions by subordinates and allies and hold responsible those who committed such actions, but did not, and who is once again directing a campaign of ethnic cleansing against innocent civilians in Kosovo while treating with contempt international efforts to achieve a fair and peaceful settlement to the question of the future status of Kosovo: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United States should publicly declare that it considers that there is reason to believe that Slobodan Milosevic, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), has committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide;

(2) the United States should make collection of information that can be supplied to the Tribunal for use as evidence to support an indictment and trial of President Slobodan Milosevic for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide a high priority;

(3) any such information concerning President Slobodan Milosevic already collected by the United States should be provided to the Tribunal as soon as possible;

(4) the United States should provide a fair share of any additional financial or personnel resources that may be required by the Tribunal in order to enable the Tribunal to adequately address preparation for, indictment of, prosecution of, and adjudication of allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity posed against President Slobodan Milosevic and any other person arising from the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, including in Kosovo;

(5) the United States should engage with other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other interested states in a discussion of information any such state may hold relating to allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity posed against President Slobodan Milosevic and any other person arising from the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, including in Kosovo, and press such states to promptly provide all such information to the Tribunal;

(6) the United States should engage with other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other interested states in a discussion of measures to be taken to apprehend indicted war criminals and persons indicted for crimes against humanity with the objective of concluding a plan of action that will result in these indictees' prompt delivery into the custody of the Tribunal; and

(7) the United States should urge the Tribunal to promptly review all information relating to President Slobodan Milosevic's possible criminal culpability for conceiving, directing, and sustaining a variety of actions in the former Yugoslavia, including Kosovo, that have had the effect of genocide, of other crimes against humanity, or of war crimes, with a view toward prompt issuance of a public indictment of Milosevic.

SEC. 2. The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall transmit a copy of this resolution to the President.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER) and the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HAMILTON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER).

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, for most of this year, we have witnessed a repeat of the carnage and the havoc that the world experienced during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia at the beginning of the decade. Some people, not this Member, had a degree of optimism with the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement some 3 years ago. However, now once again we are faced with the tragic spectacle of hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians made homeless, towns and villages in ruins, unknown numbers of persons dead or missing in Kosovo.

The architect of this misery is of Slobodan Milosevic, the very same individual who produced the Bosnian tragedy or at least contributed mightily to it and presided over the dissolution of what was once Yugoslavia, who brought poverty and misery to his own Serbian people by his policy and actions and who has sown the seeds of strident nationalism throughout the Balkans. Yet, despite this disgraceful record and his undeniable responsibility for what has occurred in the former Yugoslavia and what continues to this very day, the international community has been hesitant to indict Milosevic for crimes at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, ICTY.

The distinguished chairman of our Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), has introduced

a resolution that simply puts the Congress on record that if anyone deserves to be indicted, it is Slobodan Milosevic.

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An identical measure, S. Con. Res. 105, passed the Senate in July. We need to put Milosevic, and others who may be responsible for the savagery in Kosovo, on notice that they cannot escape culpability. It is important that Milosevic fully understands that the Congress is supportive of U.S. efforts to curb his vicious assaults on ethnic Albanian civilians in that area. Whatever his reasons, wanton attacks on civilians constitutes a grave breach of international law.

Our chairman, the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) has also called upon Secretary Albright to provide whatever collaborative information the U.S. might possess regarding any atrocities in Kosovo. The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) is requesting a review of the options, that the administration is prepared to pursue to make Mr. Milosevic cooperate with the international efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to those in need in Kosovo, and to permit displaced persons to return to their homes in safety.

Mr. Speaker, I understand Chairman GILMAN is awaiting the Secretary's response in view of the mounting severity of the situation and the approach of winter. Unless the United States and the international community acts swiftly in the next few weeks, we face the prospect of hundreds of thousands of displaced persons, women, children, and the elderly, becoming ill and dying in the cold which will soon set in the mountains of Kosovo.

Mr. Speaker, this is unacceptable, of course, and we must act now to prevent such a catastrophe. It is imperative that the House join our colleagues in the Senate and agree to this resolution today in order to send a strong message that Milosevic is accountable. I urge my colleagues to unanimously support H. Con. Res. 304.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) the author of the resolution.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Nebraska (Chairman Bereuter), my good friend, for his excellent remarks and for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, the newspapers each day report on the brutality and the military attacks on the civilians in Kosovo, and the prospects of a rising death toll are more and more likely unless we press for a cease-fire and make certain that Milosevic understands that we will not allow the situation to drag on and on.

The news from the Kosovo front seems like *deja vu*, reminiscent of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia. The common thread in all of this destruction and war is Slobodan Milosevic. Today, Congress can go on record. Slobodan

Milosevic must be held accountable for war crimes against humanity and genocide. The United States leadership must not ignore the compelling case of complicity which has been compiled against Milosevic.

In the *prima facie* case for Milosevic's indictment prepared by Paul Williams and Norman Cigar, they conclude that this, and I quote, "is a compelling and legal factual case that Slobodan Milosevic, through forces and agencies under his control, is responsible for directing and aiding and abetting war crimes on an extensive scale."

The *prima facie* case focuses on evidence from years of both the Croatian war and the Bosnian war. Mr. Williams directs the Public International Law and Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Dr. Cigar, a research fellow at the Balkan Institute, was professor of national security studies at the U.S. Marine Corps School of Advanced Warfighting in Quantico, Virginia, and a senior political-military analyst for the Army Staff at the Pentagon. For the benefit of my colleagues, I submit a summary of their statement for the RECORD:

WAR CRIMES AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY:
A PRIMA FACIE CASE FOR THE INDICTMENT
OF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC

(Prepared by Paul Williams and Norman
Cigar, The Balkan Institute)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

When queried as to whether Slobodan Milosevic is ultimately responsible for the widespread and systematic atrocities that have been committed in the former Yugoslavia, most policy-makers will readily indicate that of course everyone "knows" that Slobodan Milosevic is responsible for the worst atrocities to plague Europe since WWII. They often add, however, that there is simply no "proof" that he ordered the commission of these atrocities.

Recognizing that it is not possible to orchestrate ethnic cleansing and genocide on the scale that has occurred in the former Yugoslavia without leaving some proof of one's responsibility, this study seeks to examine whether there is sufficient information available in the public domain to establish a *prima facie* case that Slobodan Milosevic is individually responsible for the commission of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia.

In order to ascertain Slobodan Milosevic's individual responsibility for war crimes, this study does not seek to develop any creative legal devices for attaching liability, but rather limits itself strictly to legal avenues as set forth in the statute, rules of procedure and evidence, and the previous indictments of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. Similarly, the study relies upon information that is widely available in the public domain, including accounts from senior Serb paramilitary leaders—such as "Arkan" and Vojislav Seselj—and officials in Slobodan Milosevic's own government, as well as information collected by international organizations and foreign governments.

Based upon an examination of the legal precedent of the International Criminal Tribunal and the publicly available evidence, this study concludes that there is a compelling legal and factual case that Slobodan Milosevic, through forces and agencies under his control, is responsible for directing and

aiding and abetting war crimes on an extensive scale. Specifically;

Yugoslav Federal and Republic of Serbia forces and agencies and their paramilitary agents committed widespread atrocities in Croatia and Bosnia against both civilians and prisoners of war. These atrocities included the criminal acts of killing, expulsion, rape, detention in concentration camps, forced labor, torture, mutilation, and the looting and destruction of property. All of these acts were perpetrated on a large scale, and often with severe brutality.

Slobodan Milosevic, by virtue of his formal positions and informal power base, exercised power, influence, and control over the Yugoslav Federal and Republic of Serbia forces and agencies and their paramilitary agents responsible for the commission of war crimes.

By virtue of Slobodan Milosevic's official and/or effective control over forces responsible for the commission of war crimes, he may be held individually responsible for ordering, planning, or instigating those crimes.

By virtue of Slobodan Milosevic's official and/or effective control over Serbian Republic forces and agencies, such as Serbia's Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs, that were active in the initial organization of Serbian paramilitary agents, including the provision of financial resources and weapons, and that provided their paramilitary agents with access to Croatia and Bosnia, Slobodan Milosevic may properly be held individually responsible for the war crime of aiding and abetting the commission of war crimes.

Slobodan Milosevic, as the superior authority over Yugoslav Federal and Republic of Serbia forces and agencies, is individually responsible for failing to prevent or punish their commission of war crimes.

This study therefore finds that it is possible and reasonable to construct a *prima facie* case for the indictment of Slobodan Milosevic for the commission of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia.

Mr. Speaker, the evidence of war crimes, brutal killings, and other atrocities in Kosovo is, as I said, mounting with each and every passing day.

Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, John Shattuck, just returned in recent days from Kosovo. He makes a compelling case that, and I quote, "there is substantial evidence of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and violations of international humanitarian law * * * [which are] * * * subject to the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia."

Mr. Shattuck was accompanied by former Senator Bob Dole, head of the International Commission on Missing Persons in the former Yugoslavia. In Mr. Dole's opinion editorial printed in today's Washington Post, he reminds us that "American officials have pledged not to allow the crimes against humanity that we witnessed in Bosnia to be repeated in Kosovo. From what [Mr. Dole] has seen, such crimes are already occurring," as he writes in the op-ed today. In fact, I would like to submit his very moving piece for the RECORD as well.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Dole recounts a scene that is reminiscent of my own experience with Mr. Milosevic when

the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF) and I met with him in Belgrade in September of 1991. At that time, Milosevic claimed that Yugoslav forces were not sending military jets to threaten and bomb Croatia, and yet both the gentleman from Virginia and I had personally witnessed overflights by two Yugoslav MIG fighters a couple of days before in the besieged town of Vukovar. In fact, in order to get to that town, we had to go through a corn field because it was surrounded by tanks and artillery and snipers. We saw devastated schools and churches and homes that had been leveled in a "scorched earth" policy. A couple of days later when we met with Mr. Milosevic, he denied it all and we had been eyewitnesses to it all.

Mr. Dole, in a like fashion, reports that Milosevic denied any Serbian offensives were being planned or undertaken for Kosovo. Not 24 hours after Mr. Dole and Mr. Shattuck departed, Serbian troops began a destructive offensive in the region of Pec. Milosevic thinks he can get away with lying. Certainly to date, the Serbian forces have escaped the scrutiny of the International Criminal Tribunal, and we need to make sure that does not continue to happen.

Mr. Speaker, the chief prosecutor, Louise Arbour, has already stated that the "nature and scale of the fighting [in Kosovo] indicate that an armed conflict, within the meaning of international law, clearly exists in Kosovo." As a consequence, she has said she intends to bring charges for crimes against humanity or war crimes if such evidence is established.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the case for the commission of war crimes will be made easily when the political will is established to proceed down that path, and so far that has been lacking. While the resolution we are considering today focuses on Milosevic and his culpability, there are a multitude of others who are on the run, some in Serbia. Even in recent weeks the Department of State has publicly admitted the United States has reason to believe that Mladic is in Serbia and the United States continues to pressure Milosevic to surrender the three Yugoslav military members who were indicted by the Tribunal for their involvement in the destruction and crimes in Vukovar.

Mr. Speaker, Milosevic needs to get the message loudly and clearly. The resolution calls for the U.S. to collect and provide evidence of Milosevic's culpability to the International War Crimes Tribunal, and to date, to the best of our knowledge, we have not done so. The measure affirms Congress' support for the Tribunal and calls on the U.S. to engage our NATO allies in the provision of evidence helpful in the work of the Tribunal.

Mr. Speaker, I would alert Members that we are working to have a hearing on what is going on in Kosovo in the Helsinki Commission on Thursday. We hope to have Mr. Dole and Mr.

Shattuck testify. We are working on the details of that right now.

This resolution, which I hope will pass unanimously, will put us clearly on record as saying let us collect that evidence and get it to the Tribunal. Let us stop putting the evidence aside, which is what we have been doing for all of these months and years with regard to Milosevic.

Mr. Speaker, innocent civilians—women, children, and men—are losing their lives, their livestock, their homes and their hope. We are getting reports that Serbian forces are attacking and killing civilians and then food supplies are being destroyed and crops in the field are being torched. A couple of weeks ago, three members of the Mother Theresa Society who were driving tractors and trailers filled with relief supplies were killed when attacked by a Serbian armored vehicle. Serbian officials had shortly before cleared the relief vehicles at a checkpoint. The relief had been provided by Doctors of the World which has since announced suspension of its assistance in Kosovo.

The Christian Science Monitor quoted a Kosovar school teacher, "First the police destroyed and looted our houses * * * Then they surrounded us with tanks and separated the men from the women and children. They beat the men and took them away." With the blockade of humanitarian assistance and the scorched earth policies of the armed forces, food and provisions are being used as weapons of the war.

Mr. Speaker, I agree with Mr. Dole that Kosovo "is a political and military crisis, whose most visible symptoms are humanitarian. There should be no doubt that this is a war against civilians for political purposes." Just last week, Julia Taft, Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration estimated that we will see 100,000 to 200,000 casualties in the next few months if the fighting and attacks are not brought to an abrupt end. With winter approaching, the hundreds of thousands of homeless and the estimated 50,000 or so who are living in the fields and forests will be particularly vulnerable. The numbers will only escalate.

I encourage the House to unanimously approve the resolution before us.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume only to commend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) on his excellent statement and on his initiative.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) for his leadership on this issue, and I am proud to join in support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is important we provide some background as to how the Congress got to the point where we are now considering declaring the President of Yugoslavia a war criminal. This process took many years.

It was years ago, visiting the Province of Kosovo, that I met time and time again with a frail, peace-loving scholar of enormous capabilities and deep convictions, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova,

who was and continues to be the leader of the ethnic Albanian community in Kosovo. This was at a time when the problems of Kosovo could have been worked out peacefully without bloodshed, without the vast numbers of innocent victims, without the hundreds of thousands of refugees. But, Slobodan Milosevic's ruthless, reckless, irresponsible behavior brought us to the point of a bloodbath in Bosnia and now a bloodbath in Kosovo.

Fairness compels us, Mr. Speaker, to state categorically that Slobodan Milosevic is not the only person guilty of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia. There is plenty of guilt to go around and some leaders of all of the ethnic groups qualify for that designation. But today we are dealing with Slobodan Milosevic, the Yugoslav communist dictator who richly deserves to be branded a war criminal by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I also want to express my personal appreciation to former Senator Bob Dole for having visited this region just within the last week or so, demonstrating his continued commitment to human rights and the creation of democratic societies in the Balkans.

The United States, in this resolution, publicly declares that there is reason to believe that Slobodan Milosevic, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, has committed war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.

These, unfortunately, are incontrovertible facts, and I join the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) in expressing the hope that this body will approve this resolution unanimously.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANTOS. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), my good friend and colleague, the ranking member of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, for his very eloquent statement. Sometimes there are differences of opinion, Democrats and Republicans. But when it comes to human rights, we do link arm and arm. We have worked very well together over the years, and nowhere is that more apparent than in the Balkans and now with Kosovo being an area under siege.

Mr. Speaker, people literally are dying by the thousands. Refugees are in flight across and through Albania and elsewhere. I think we need to send as clear a message. Milosevic is laughing in our face. He has gotten away with it before. He has been, quote, our partner in peace at the Dayton Peace Accords. Regrettably, he gained stature through that and his gross misdeeds have been put under the table.

This resolution, and the fact that it has passed on the Senate side as well, I think puts everyone on notice that we will push hard until he is brought to

justice. And I want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for his excellent statement.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, we have no further speakers, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, simply to conclude by saying congratulations and to commend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) for sponsoring this legislation. He has brought to bear his considerable knowledge and experience in this region in an extraordinary fashion, working very cooperatively with the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and other colleagues.

Joining the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) as original cosponsors were the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PORTER) the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), the gentleman from Hawaii (Mr. ABERCROMBIE), the gentleman from Florida (Ms. BROWN), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN), the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HALL) and others.

So, Mr. Speaker, I do thank my colleagues, and to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) I say thank you for your excellent work. I urge my colleagues to give their unanimous support to this resolution.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, for most of this year we have witnessed a repeat of the carnage and havoc that the world experienced during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia at the beginning of this decade. We took some pride when we believed that conflict to have been ended with the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement some three years ago. Now, once again, we are faced with the tragic spectacle of hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians made homeless, towns and villages in ruins, unknown numbers of persons dead or missing in Kosovo.

The architect of this misery is Slobodan Milosevic, the very same individual who produced the Bosnian tragedy, and who presided over the dissolution of what was one Yugoslavia; who brought poverty and misery to his own Serbian people, and who has sown the seeds of strident nationalism throughout the Balkans.

The distinguished Chairman of our Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights, the gentleman from New Jersey, CHRIS SMITH has introduced a Resolution that puts the Congress on record that if anyone deserves to be indicted it is Slobodan Milosevic. An identical measure, S. Con. Res. 105, passed the Senate in July. We need to put Milosevic and others who may be responsible for the savagery in Kosovo on notice that they cannot escape culpability.

I commend to everyone's attention the article by Senator Bob Dole in the Op-Ed section of today's Washington Post. Senator Dole just returned from a fact-finding mission in Kosovo. I quote from his article, "The war in Kosovo has many of the worst characteristics of the war in Bosnia. The primary victims of Serbian attacks are civilians. Humanitarian workers are denied access and often harassed and attacked. But it is not just the situation on the

ground that is hauntingly familiar; it is also American and European diplomacy."

"Once again the victims are being asked to negotiate with those who are attacking them. In addition, there is an active attempt to impose a moral equivalence between Serbian forces and the small band of Albanians who have taken up arms against them."

I have written today to President Clinton the following letter:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The on-going conflict in Kosovo has produced over a quarter of a million refugees and internally displaced persons—women, children and the elderly—who have been driven from their homes by a brutal Serbian campaign that has haunting similarities to what occurred in Bosnia earlier this decade. The President of Serbia and Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic, has failed to keep his pledges and assurances throughout the course of this year to U.S. and other diplomats to permit these people to return in safety to their homes. Now, as the winter is fast approaching, we are facing an impending humanitarian disaster with the real prospect of seeing tens of thousands of vulnerable people freezing to death on the mountains and in the forests of Kosovo.

Mr. President, you have said that the United States would not permit another Bosnia to occur in the Balkans. I am appealing to you now, before it is too late, to keep faith with that commitment. It is imperative that the United States, with or without other members of the international community, act to force Milosevic to end his barbaric policies aimed at civilians in Kosovo. What we are witnessing now is not a diplomatic, political or military problem, it is a humanitarian one and we should address it on that basis.

As Senator Bob Dole has written in today's edition of the Washington Post:

"Half-measures and interim deals will not do. * * * American officials have pledged not to allow the crimes against humanity that we witnessed in Bosnia to be repeated in Kosovo. * * * What is urgently needed now is American leadership and a firm commitment to a genuine and just peace."

It is important that Milosevic fully understands that the Congress is supportive of U.S. efforts to curb his vicious assaults on Albanian civilians. Whatever his reasons, wanton attack on civilians constitutes a grave breach of international law.

It is critical, therefore, that the House joins our colleagues in the Senate and agree to this resolution today in order to send a strong message that Milosevic is accountable. Accordingly, I urge our members to support House Concurrent Resolution 304.

Mr. MORAN of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, with so much legislative business left to conduct this session, there may be some who are wondering why we should care about Slobodan Milosevic.

We should care because on March 23, 1989, Slobodan Milosevic unilaterally changed the Yugoslav Constitution, revoking the autonomous status of Kosovo.

We should care because, in a referendum held in 1989, 87 percent of those Kosovars eligible to vote approved independence by an overwhelming 99 percent.

We should care because two of the most devastating wars in history began in the Balkans.

But most importantly, Mr. Speaker, we should care because Slobodan Milosevic has initiated his second genocidal campaign to maintain his dictatorship through terror.

When Milosevic sought to tighten his grip in Bosnia the world stood by and watched. We watched as Milosevic drove three million Bosnians from their homes. We watched as Milosevic ordered the killing of more than 250,000 Bosnians. And we watched as Milosevic directed the rape of 40,000 Bosnian women and girls.

How long will we watch in Kosovo?

Although 90 percent of Kosovars are ethnically Albanian, Milosevic has denied them entry to schools, he has denied them access to jobs, and he has denied them access to government. By instituting his own police force, he has entrenched his generals of genocide in every Kosovan community.

A recent Washington Post story tells of one home in Kosovo. The home was burning to the ground. Reporters saw Milosevic's police force running from the scene. When asked how the fire started, one officer grinned and replied that the house was burning "Because it was made of wood."

The Butcher of Belgrade is at it again. By inciting the worst elements of Serbian nationalism and by exploiting existing tensions between Albanians and Serbs, Milosevic has driven as many as 200,000 Kosovars from their homes. Mass graves are again common in the Balkans. Civilians are being butchered when they can be caught and terrorized when they escape.

There can be no doubt that Milosevic has proven he is unworthy of stewardship over this place. It is incumbent upon us to ensure that he is held accountable for these atrocities and that he never commits them again.

Mr. Speaker, if we believe people have the right to be safe and secure in their homes—if we believe people have the right to live free from the fear of being murdered or raped because of their race—then we must stop this madman.

I urge my colleagues to join me in strong support of this resolution.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I strongly support House Concurrent Resolution 304, which expresses the sense of Congress that the United States should publicly declare that it considers there to be probable cause that Slobodan Milosevic has committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. The resolution urges the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to promptly review all information relating to Milosevic's possible criminal culpability with a view toward issuing an indictment. I am proud to be a cosponsor of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, there is no justification for the massacre of hundreds of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. The pattern in Kosovo is tragically all too familiar. The Serbian Army shells and burns villages. Among the dead are innocent men, women and children. More than a quarter of a million people in Kosovo have already been driven from their homes since February. In addition, the U.S. government has received first-hand reports that Yugoslav military forces are separating males and females in villages and refugee groups in Losova and taking the men and boys to unknown sites.

This brutal, indiscriminate, disproportionate and unjustified use of violence must end. What Mr. Milosevic is about in Kosovo, as in Bosnia before this, is ethnic cleansing on a massive scale.

It is important that the international community stand united against death and destruction

inflicted on Kosova by Serbia. The crisis in Kosova is not—as some have described it—an "internal affair" of Serbia. We must speak loudly and clearly. More than that, the time has come to back up words with actions. If the United States and the international community fail to take effective action to stop the violence in Kosova, the likelihood is that the conflict will grow and spread.

I urge the President and Secretary Albright to take a hard line against Slobodan Milosevic's repressive policies. To that end, I recently joined more than 80 concerned Members of the House in writing a letter to the President that said, "It is time to send a message to Milosevic that NATO will intervene if Serbian forces do not stop attacking ethnic Albanian citizens and destroying their villages."

Experience has shown that we cannot rely on Slobodan Milosevic's words. We must judge him by his actions and hold him accountable. House Concurrent Resolution 304 is an important step in that direction. It should by no means be the last step.

The horrendous killing and shelling of civilians must stop. I urge all my colleagues to support House Concurrent Resolution 304.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PETRI). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 304.

The question was taken.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 5 of rule I and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceeding on this motion will be postponed.

□ 1330

CALLING ON GOVERNMENT OF CUBA TO EXTRADITE JOANNE CHESIMARD TO UNITED STATES

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 254) calling on the Government of Cuba to return to the United States convicted felon Joanne Chesimard and all other individuals who have fled the United States to avoid prosecution or confinement for criminal offenses and who are currently living freely in Cuba, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 254

Whereas on May 2, 1973, Joanne Chesimard and 2 friends were stopped in their vehicle by New Jersey State Troopers James Harper and Werner Foerster on the New Jersey Turnpike;

Whereas while being questioned, Ms. Chesimard and the driver opened fire with automatic pistols striking Trooper Werner Foerster twice in the chest and Trooper James Harper in the left shoulder;

Whereas the suspects then turned Trooper Foerster's own weapon on him firing an additional two bullets into his head execution style;

Whereas this heinous and premeditated act resulted in the tragic death of New Jersey State Trooper Werner Foerster;